

KEEP PEACE, GANDHI EXPORTED INDIANS

'Work Hard, Tire Not,' Last
Words of Non-Coopera-
tive Leader.

WILL PLEAD GUILTY

With Fellow Prisoner, a
Banker. He Will Not
Fight in Court.

SIKHS PREPARE FOR WAR

Gandhi Propaganda Causing
Unrest Also to South of
Udipur.

AMHERST, British India, March 12. (Associated Press).—The arrest of Mohandas K. Gandhi, the leader of the non-cooperationists, was effected by Police Superintendent Hailey, who previously had taken into custody a leading Nationalist named Shankar, a banker, near the Nagraghram, which is Gandhi's religious and political institute, situated a few miles from Ahmedabad.

Hailey took the banker to the institute, the inmates of which were in bed. Later, however, they arose and nursed before Gandhi's residence and prayed and sang Gandhi's favorite hymn. Then Gandhi, with his wife and the banker, was taken by automobile to a neighboring jail.

"Work hard, and tire not," were Gandhi's last words to his followers before being taken away. He exhorted all those who loved India to maintain perfect peace throughout the country.

At midnight Superintendent Hailey searched the premises of the newspaper *Natyanam* and collected some of Gandhi's original contributions to *Tung India* in 1921-22, which it is believed form the basis of the charge against him.

AMHERST, March 12.—Mohandas K. Gandhi and Shankar, a banker, were arrested before a magistrate at Ahmedabad Saturday, charged with being connected with articles written by Gandhi and published in *Tung India*, says a dispatch to the *Exchange Telegraph* from Bombay. The prosecution described these letters as having caused disaffection against the Government. Both the accused men said they would plead guilty at the proper time, but that they would decline to cross-examine witnesses or to open their defense. They were committed for trial, which is expected to begin promptly and to conclude within a fortnight.

UNREST AMONG SIKHS; GRAVE INDIAN PERIL

Gandhi Propaganda Extends
South in Udipur.

LONDON, March 12.—Apart from the non-cooperative movement, which is most active in the United Provinces of India, says a *Reuter* dispatch from Delhi, the worst feature of the Indian situation is the unrest among the Sikhs in the province of Punjab.

The political propaganda seeking the re-establishment of Sikh supremacy in the Punjab, the dispatch adds, is becoming increasingly active, and is being actively fostered by the Government. The political propaganda of the religious organization are enrolling as volunteers in the Akali Panj, a political party armed with batons, clubs and sporting guns. The rebellion in this organization is increasing daily, owing to the appeal made to the warlike tendencies of the Sikhs by the non-cooperation agitators.

The propaganda of the non-cooperationists, according to the dispatch, also has found ground further south in Udipur, where the ruthlessness of the British over local grievances is being worked upon by the followers of Gandhi.

This agitation has culminated in the organization of an army under an ex-captain named Moti Lal, consisting of several thousand men armed with guns, swords and bows and arrows. This force collided a few days ago with a Government contingent of British in which 22 of the rebels were killed and 28 wounded before they were dispersed.

Another source of anxiety to the Government of India is the large number of civil servants retiring prematurely owing to discontent with present conditions, an important consideration being the insults and dangers to which their wives and families daily are being subjected.

MOSLEM LEGISLATORS PLEAD FOR MONTAGU

DELHI, March 12 (Associated Press).—Twenty Mohammedan members of the Indian Legislature, now here, have sent to Prime Minister Lloyd George an emphatic protest against the British Government's "deplorable action" in connection with the resignation of Secretary for India, Montagu.

They express appreciation of the efforts by Mr. Montagu and the Indian Government on behalf of the Khalifat, and assert the Secretary was sacrificed to the anti-Khalifat campaign. The legislators' protest also declares that the Indian Government's recent representation, publication of which brought about the virtual dismissal of Secretary Montagu, contains the minimum Moslem demands.

Dr. H. S. Gour expressed the deep grief of the Assembly and of India generally over the resignation of Mr. Montagu, whom he characterized as a staunch supporter of the Indian reform scheme and a true friend of India.

Sir D. Harbansilal said he hoped Mr. Montagu would be able to withdraw his resignation.

The Nagpur provincial legislative council also paid eulogistic tribute to Mr. Montagu's services.

In the course of a speech the Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya declared the arrest of Gandhi was a great blow on the part of the Indian Government.

BRITAIN MUST CRUSH MOSLEM-HINDU UNITY

Crisis Admittedly Gravest Since the Mutiny—Intensified by Arrest of Gandhi—Peril Will Not Be Passed Until Home Rule Is in Sight—Anglo-Indians Split on Policy.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK HERALD. Copyright, 1922, by THE NEW YORK HERALD. New York Herald Bureau. London, March 12. The fact no news of any disturbances in India has been received following the arrest of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the Indian Nationalist leader, whose object is the overthrow of British rule in India, has served to allay temporarily public anxiety and to give new hope the insurrection movement will slowly be suppressed. But in Government quarters there is no attempt to disguise the situation by facile optimism, and it is admitted that not since the great mutiny has British rule in India been in such a perilous plight as to-day.

There are, indeed, several factors in the present situation which make the mutiny appear a mere riot compared with a revolution. At the time of the mutiny Englishmen were so incensed that complete unity in the Government of the day for dealing with the problem was easily attained. But to-day opinion is sharply divided here on the question of shaping India's future, the Liberals standing on one side and the Tories on the other. The Viceroy, Lord Reading, is leading the Liberals, but Edwin S. Montagu, former Secretary of State for India, has been forced out, and Lord Reading's resignation is expected.

Will Suppress Sedition. Apparently, the Government is determined to suppress sedition and exorcise the revolutionary movement led by Gandhi. But many Anglo-Indians in the service of the Government are recent converts to the idea of a liberal policy in India and view any prolonged halting on the road to home rule with genuine alarm. They are supported by the Liberals outside the Government, who are in sympathy with a moderate home rule movement, though not that of Gandhi. The great majority of British officials in India, however, would welcome a return to the policy which would restore to them the lost prestige they had in the position as overlords, and postpone the day when they will cooperate with the Indians on an equal basis.

The idea of their privileged position has been handed down from father to son and is not yet extinct, despite attempts of new recruits in the India office here to show them the way for a realization of Indian ideals in home rule, and the men accustomed to rule as many as 5,000,000 natives in their capacity as resident Governor attached to a petty monarch are not willing to surrender their splendid power and descend to cooperation.

Thus the Government is divided into two opposing camps, with the likelihood of those who view the progress toward home rule with horror regarding a temporary victory. Lord Reading's position is the weathercock in the situation. If he resigns it will mean the unprogressive policy has triumphed. If he remains in India it will look forward to the development of a liberal policy.

India Landed With Debt. In the meanwhile India is staggering under a burden of debt, the loss of German and Russian markets and the policy of non-cooperation with the British, which has almost shattered trade with the home country. It is suffering from the paralyzing effects of internal dissensions, violent agitation wherever there is a grievance and the passive resistance of the Gandhi followers.

Gandhi's movement for immediate home rule is the outcome of old Hindu organizations which late in the last century borrowed the methods of the Russians and terrorized officials and those unwilling to support the policy of home rule. But it has nothing in common with the Nikhilam of to-day.

Gandhi, like many other young Indians, came to London and studied law. He returned to India with a sense of grievance against those who would make a color line distinction between Hindus and Englishmen, and when he went to South Africa as a barrister, where he found indentured Indians forced to pay a head tax and register because they were Asiatics, he reached the determination to relieve their hated distinction. He led the passive resistance movement in which the Indians refused to comply with the law. He went to prison with hundreds of his countrymen and finally succeeded in inducing the South African Government to soften the distinction between Europeans and Indians.

Gandhi National Hero. When he returned to India he was naturally welcomed as a national hero and his followers increased when they found he had given away his fortune and worked as a humble cobbler for the ideal of a united self-governing India. In the South African war, the Zulu campaign and the late war he recruited Indian students for service with the British as members of the ambulance corps. He himself served in the first two wars. During this time he was a pacifist. His hostility toward British rule is of recent birth, and the British believe it is mainly due to his having led a movement he can no longer control.

The effect of educating Indians in England and the United States has been to create a class of men, mostly lawyers, who in number far exceed the limited number of Government posts vacant in Indian service or the opportunities for practicing their profession in their own country. They have seen with envy Englishmen occupying positions to which they thought themselves entitled, and they have long conducted an agitation to remove the British for their own benefit.

The defeat of the Russians in the war with Japan showed the Indians that the Europeans were not invincible and constructed a fragile bridge of national pride over racial and religious caste differences—the first India had known for centuries. That gave a great impetus to home rule government, which was originally started by enlightened Englishmen, who realized it was impossible to continue to rule India without the active participation by the Indians and the eventual granting of self-government to the natives.

Indians Disillusioned in War. The bringing of Indian troops to Europe in the recent war gave them an insight into Western civilization, and many who in their native villages had long cherished the idea that London, the capital of the empire, was a city of princely splendor and the British Government a government of perfection, found themselves bitterly disillusioned. They professed contempt for all they saw and heard.

The poverty of London's back streets appalled them, accustomed though they were to conditions in India, and the swarms of the cities the names of which filled them with awe when printed on cotton goods sent them

responsibilities and are capable of achieving some semblance of national unity and Gandhi's away with the Indian people following his banner of complete emancipation from everything British.

Nation Not Easy to Rule. The difficulties of British rule will be realized when it is seen there are no less than sixty-three petty monarchs whose territory covers only one-fifth of India; that the population of India exceeds 300,000,000; that the Moslem hates the Hindu and both of them are full of racial and religious hatred. The British have only 60,000 white troops in India and 250,000 native troops at their disposal, though at the close of the war there were 1,000,000 natives under the British flag who had learned to fire a rifle.

The cost of this army this year reaches 41,000,000 pounds, which is charged to the Indian budget. According to Government officials there are only 20,000 British civil servants in India, thirteen per cent. of the highest administrative posts, being filled by natives at present. The white provincial administration is almost entirely native. The Indians have slowly eliminated Englishmen from the government so that the number of undergraduates leaving Oxford and Cambridge for India is now so small that it has aroused much anxiety in Great Britain. The opportunity, it is asserted here, are fewer than before the war and such posts as become vacant are still a family monopoly.

What percentage of university men remain in civil service in India is not known at the India office here, but it is certainly less than before the war. Unhappily, many of the men in the modern liberal ideas are badly needed in India to-day, according to those who wish to see India secure home rule. They are needed to supplant those who oppose a progressive movement and who still maintain their social aloofness toward the Indian which, as in the case of Egypt, strikes at the foundation of British rule.

If it is believed that only among young men fresh from the universities can be found minds unprejudiced enough to move in this direction. Until the British can find such men, it is recognized even in Government circles here they cannot appeal to the moderates in India with sufficient strength to break the power of Gandhi.

Home Rule the Goal. Happily the majority of Englishmen are agreed regarding home rule as the ultimate goal in India. The British still hope to appeal to the moderates who are seeking the road to this end. They believe their civilization has conferred benefits on India which still demands prolongation of their rule in that country, but if conversations with prominent Anglo-Indians here afford any true indication of the tendencies of the times, then Great Britain is renouncing the idea of holding India merely as the jewel of the Empire.

"The future," one official says, "lies in the lap of the gods. The mutiny died quickly with the removal of the grievances and was followed by the longest period of peace in India's history, but the present crisis will not be solved until home rule is within sight. The distrust which the Irish felt and expressed for Great Britain has traveled as far as India and Great Britain now has to fight down a reputation which still casts suspicion on her most liberal moves. Whether the attempt to break the mutiny of Gandhi's party will prove a fresh distrust remains to be seen, but India's future government may yet be found in Constantinople.

Among those who have contributed to the present disorders in India Lord Curzon's name stands foremost among the accusers of the Government. Lord Curzon belongs to the days when the Viceroy held accepted sway and ruled without a frown to check equanimity. Wedded to the empire, he depended for its glory upon the supremacy of British officials in India, he has always opposed any movement toward political reform which would confer larger measures of power on the natives. His policy as Foreign Minister has been one of the twin ideas of protecting India from mythical Russian hordes and suppressing all manifestations of political independence in the country itself.

His support of the Greeks and his inability to understand the effect upon the Moslem world of the treaty of Sevres were based on the assumption that the Gandhi movement was only a temporary aberration not supported by any real grievance. He has since found out his mistake, according to his political opponents, but there are rumors that many Cabinet Ministers, as Montagu showed in his speech, feel they have been misled by his failure to understand the new India.

An Open Dardanelles. This was made perfectly clear to us yesterday by Marshal Izet Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Constantinople Government, who is in London to explain to the British Government the conditions under which Turkey can continue to live. He agreed that the Dardanelles should be open and unfortified. He said the Turks would undertake never again to close this all important waterway. The situation there might be regulated by a commission, but the rights of the Turks must be more fully recognized than in the case under

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Converting the Moslems. The strife was caused by the treaty of Sevres and the report that the Caliphate had been defiled by Turks driven out from Asia as well as Europe and that the British had determined to suppress the Moslems all over the East. By exploiting the Turkish peace and the clever use of Wilson's self-determination policies Gandhi won both Hindu and Moslem under his banner in a unity never previously known between these Indians of different religion and race.

Not even the visit of the Prince of Wales to India could break the power of Gandhi, though the moderates who had deserted the all-Indian congress and sided with the British expressed loyalty to the King and Emperor through affection for his son. Gandhi's passive resistance and non-cooperation, coupled with the grievance against the Turkish peace, has made the visit of the Prince of Wales most unpleasant in certain circles where he has been. Lord Reading evidently realized that to break Gandhi's power it is necessary to destroy the unity between the Moslem and Hindu above which he flourishes. The Viceroy's message to Montagu asking rectification of the Turkish treaty is believed to have been an attempt to separate the two factions, granting the Moslem demands that Turkey be restored to Europe and the Caliphate remain inviolate. Whether Lord Reading's policy will yet succeed remains doubtful, but it has brought the possibility of civil strife between Hindu and Moslem within the range of reason.

No bright outlook is offered for the immediate future. The political situation resolves itself into a desperate race between those Englishmen who would confer home rule upon India step by step as they feel the Indians become educated up to these

READING SHOWS WAY TO BALKAN PEACE

Viceroy's Telegram Raises
Points of Highest Im-
port to Allies.

CONCESSIONS TO TURK

Must Come Before the
Treaty of Sevres Can
Be Enforced.

KEY IN INDIAN CRISIS

H. Charles Woods Makes Clear
Relationship of Two
Problems.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK HERALD. Copyright, 1922, by THE NEW YORK HERALD. New York Herald Bureau. London, March 12.

What Lord Reading's telegram, which already has caused a crisis in Indian affairs, means to the Balkans was explained here by H. Charles Woods, author and lecturer, one of Great Britain's leading authorities on Turkey and the Near East. He is known in America for his works, "The Cradle of the War" and "The Near East and Pan-Germanism," and has lectured extensively in the United States.

By H. CHARLES WOODS.

The telegram from Lord Reading advocating the revision of the Sevres treaty as a means of solving Indian problems raises a point of the highest importance in their bearing upon the future peace of the Balkans and Turkey. They are questions which, in fact, have prevented the Allies from being able to enforce the treaty of Sevres, and which led to the war still in progress between the Nationalist Turks and the Greeks.

What do these mean and what are the possible consequences of adopting modifications of the treaty—modifications which I think have been wisely suggested by the Viceroy?

There are three points of highest importance. The first point is that Constantinople should be evacuated. This, of course, means that the Allies should withdraw their military forces, perhaps their fleets, which have been in occupation or in the immediate vicinity of the Turkish capital in lesser or greater strength ever since the armistice. It is almost equally clear that the fulfillment of this claim would include modification of the arrangements made by the treaty for the control of the Dardanelles. Those arrangements limited Turkey in her sovereignty over the city of Constantinople, over the straits and over the band of territory situated along the southeastern or Asiatic shore of those waterways. Such conditions will never be willingly or peacefully accepted by the Constantinople Government or by its supporters in India, still less by the Nationalists under Kemal Pasha, who now controls the greater part of Asia Minor.

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PREMIER WILL ANSWER MONTAGU IN COMMONS

Declines to Enter News-
paper Discussion.

LONDON, March 13 (Monday).—Asked by a representative of the *Sketch* at Criccieth, where the Premier is on vacation, whether he would say anything in reply to the speech delivered Saturday by M. R. Montagu, Mr. Lloyd George is quoted as having said:

"If Mr. Montagu has anything he would like to say in the House of Commons when I return to London, I shall be prepared to deal with it."

The correspondent adds that Mr. Lloyd George, obeying his physician's orders, remained in the country on Monday, but later attended services in the chapel.

During his term in the Viceroyalty, the Viceroy said, he had been in constant and intimate connection with Mr. Montagu, and rumors of differences between them and between the home Government and the Indian Government regarding the policy to be pursued concerning non-cooperation and the leaders of the non-cooperation movement were absolutely without ground. The Imperial Government fully approved of the policy of the Government of India and there was no foundation whatever for the suggestion that the Government in India had been hampered in this respect by the home Government.

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the Sevres treaty, and Turkey must be guaranteed against enemy attacks, particularly against Greek attacks, in this region.

The second point is that the Indian Government goes on to suggest recognition of the sovereignty of the Sultan over Holy Places, which presumably are Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem, and perhaps Baghdad. This suggestion is more important from a religious and political standpoint, because one of the claims of the Sultan to his position of Caliph or head of the Moslem religion rests upon the fact that before the war he was the guardian possessor of these cities. The third point, which must be discussed under two headings, concerns the restoration of Smyrna and Thrace to Turkey. But the Greek frontier was extended almost to within gunshot of the center of the city of Constantinople. This means that the Ottoman capital has been left without a European hinterland; that Thrace, with its large Turkish population, has been given to Greece; and that Adrianople—with all its sentimental and religious significance to the Turks—has been annexed by Greece. Such an arrangement is entirely unsatisfactory on a basis of nationality and economic and military grounds; and its maintenance, therefore, is contrary to equity and justice.

Frontier on Bulgaria.

Izet Pasha, who is Turkey's most distinguished soldier and a signer of the armistice in 1918, and all moderate Moslems therefore claim that Turkey must secure enough European territory to enable her to defend Constantinople, that she should obtain Eastern Thrace as far as the River Maritza, including Adrianople. Such a change would give her a common frontier with Bulgaria, and for this reason would be resented not only by Greece, but also by Jugo-Slavia and Rumania.

With regard to Smyrna, there is no alternative other than that the Greeks, as a political and military entity, should evacuate the town and the whole area they now hold in Asia Minor. I say this not only because of the claims made in Lord Reading's telegram, but because I have been in Smyrna and know that peace can never be reestablished in the East until it is handed back to Turkey. Izet Pasha, who I know, would know what terms would be agreed to by the Angora Nationalists, but he assured me—I think with justification—that if reasonable modifications are proposed by the Allied Ministers, they will be acceptable to all moderate Turks.

My object is not to make excuses for the publication of the now famous telegram from Lord Reading, Viceroy of India, but the fact remains that if developments have focused American and European minds upon the question which should already have received more attention, the publication will have served the cause of international peace.

FATAL BLOW AT PEACE WITH INDIA IS SEEN

J. L. Garvin Strikes Hard at
Reading and Montagu.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK HERALD. Copyright, 1922, by THE NEW YORK HERALD. New York Herald Bureau. London, March 12.

J. L. Garvin, in the *Sunday Observer*, says, regarding the Indian situation: "Edwin S. Montagu and Lord Reading between them have fired a whole mine of mischief with incredible crudity of judgment and with inexplicable violation of their constitutional duty. Gandhi ought long ago to have been arrested at the best moment on the clearest issue. Now, after a fumbling postponement for months, he is arrested at the worst moment, in circumstances disastrously calculated to cloud the issue, excite universal misapprehension and suspicion in the native mind, to confuse every friend of our rule and unite all its enemies. "Mr. Montagu and Lord Reading between them have struck a blow at the basis of all Government relations with India. They have aggravated every difficulty both in Asia and Europe. They have even thwarted their own object by making it more difficult for us to conclude with the Turks a peace of honor and safety instead of a peace of shame and peril."

"Mr. Montagu and Lord Reading are excellent men capable of shining in other spheres. They must have intended well in their choice of means. But not after the manner of the examining these means was the British Empire built up in India or anywhere, and not so can it be maintained. . . . Curzon is left no chance to negotiate a peace with honor, but is placed in circumstances making it almost impossible to conclude any settlement which would not be regarded throughout the Moslem world as a peace of British humiliation and surrender. Mr. Montagu bequeaths the worst situation that has been known in India since the mutiny and the worst for British policy in the East as a whole that has been known at any time."

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